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585 302 In this they put two cracked eggs. They put a veil over the bride's head and face, and hang strings of silver coins between her fingers. The bride's hands are then thrust into the bowl of henna, and smeared up to the wrist. No attempt is made at forming a pattern. The feet are likewise painted with henna up to the ankles. The women in charge smear the henna on their own hands in order to partake of the magical potency of the bride and of the concoction.

At the same time the hands of the groom are stained with henna. This use of henna is repeated daily in both houses until the feast is over. Neither the bride nor groom is allowed to wash during this period.

Kohl is also applied to the bride's eyes during the feast days, in all regions excepting the central mountain area. It is put on the groom's eyes in the Senhaja and Ghomara and in the east. Kohl is used upon brides throughout the Rif except among the mountain Urriaghlis, Ikhuanen except Tainest, Iherrushen except Telmest, Temjunt, and Beni Amart. It is used upon grooms in all Senhaja, all Ghomara, Targuist, Beni Bu Yahyi, and Shawia.

585 On the first day of the feast, when those in charge of the henna convene, a white flag is set up on the roof of each of the houses.

In the regions which have seven-day feasts at both houses, the last three days are subject to definite food regulation, but on the first four any suitable dish such as *sekru* and *guaz* [1] may be served. On the fifth day a *thamarik* of beans cooked with oil and cut-up peppers is served with bread, and no other food may be cooked or consumed in the two houses on that day. On the sixth day, early in the morning, more bean *thamarik* is eaten and then the men slaughter a goat, the meat of which they give the women to cook in the house of the groom. These same men, members of the groom's family, then lead another goat to the bride's house and do the same.

On the seventh day honey is given to the guests early in the morning, and then a hearty meat dish, usually a *guaz*. After this has been eaten the guests bring their presents, consisting of cattle, goats, meat, bread, butter, honey, and other foodstuffs. Bread alone is never presented.

585 533 Each morning during the seven-day period two companies of four *iuziren* each come to the groom's house and waken him by chanting, each four alternately, the following quatrain:

Sabḥain er-raẓḳ
Sabḥain el-khalaiḳ
Sabḥain er-ruwâḳ
El ardh el-khalaiḳ.[2]

[1] See p. 59.

[2] The classical form of this would be:

Sabḥân er-râziḳ	Praise to the Provider (Giver of Bread)
Sabḥân el-khâliḳ	Praise to the Creator
Sabḥân er-ruwâḳ	Praise to the Tent (Canopy, Heavens)
El ardh el-khâliḳ	The Earth is the Creator.

The Arabic words are little changed from their classical form; they do not occur in the Koran, and I have been unable to trace their origin.

The idea seems to be that the sky fertilises the earth, which produces life and food. Such a principle may be a survival of a pre-Islamic belief, with the formula translated into classical Arabic to give it greater ritualistic value; or it may be the last vestige of an obscure heresy, such as that of Hamim (El Bekri, pp. 197 *sqq.*). Discussion of this troublesome question is earnestly solicited.

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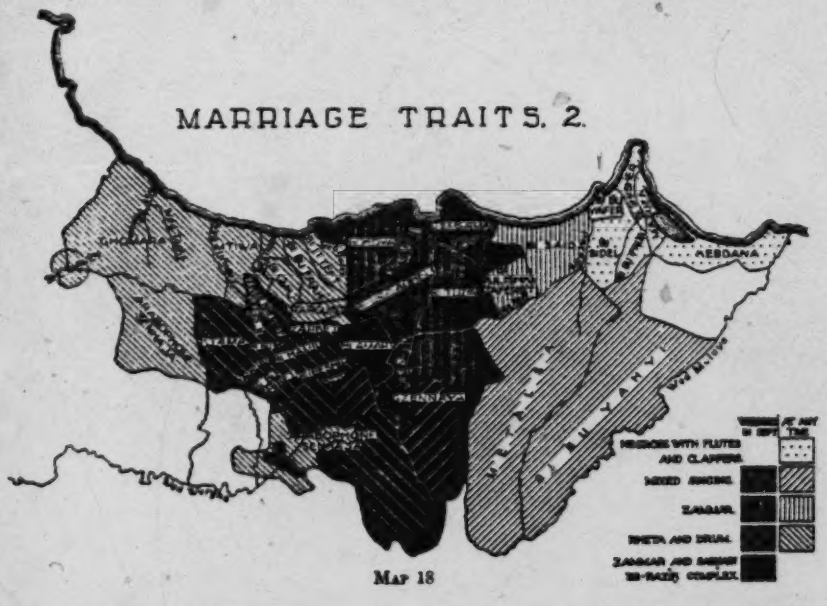
The *tusiren* whose turn it is, chant at the top of their lungs, since the other company usually amuses itself by firing off volleys of musketry. After both have chanted it a number of times, they unite in gunplay, and enter the house to greet the groom. The chanting of the *sobhain er-rasîḥ* as the verse is called, is considered a very necessary formality in the region in which it is observed. It is thought that to omit this part of the wedding would be more serious than any other miscarriage of custom. Those who do not practice it look upon it with great ridicule, and call it a survival of heathendom; consequently those who do



MAP 18

practice it take pains to lead strangers away while it is being done, and never mention it nor admit participation in it while travelling. It is another of the strange hypocrisies and inconsistencies of Riffian culture, resulting from their retention of ancient cultural traits. Chanting it is the custom among the mountain Beni Urriaghlis, in Beni Amart, Iherruahen, and Ikhuanen, and among some families of Iherrassen.

The chief attractions at the houses of the bride and groom, during all the seven or three nights in the regions where food is given nightly, are the dancing and singing of the girls, the gunplay and shouting of the men, the instrumental music, and the coarse humor of the musicians.

There are two types of dancing, the usual one and the type confined to the central area. In the usual type, all the young women of the *bone* who are presentable form two opposing and equal lines in the courtyard, each line with a leader. The women include not only

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unmarried ones but also the younger married women whose husbands will allow them to participate. The dancing is slow as far as actual progression and movement of the feet is concerned, since the two parallel lines, each girl with her hands on the shoulders of the one in front of her, move up and down the courtyard, and sometimes swing at angles to each other. A more rapid motion, however, takes place in the abdomen, hips, and shoulders, the dancers writhing in unison in a rapid muscle dance, stamping their feet in time with the music and moving them slowly back and forth.

While dancing the women sing rhymed couplets, usually in pentameter, to some monotonous and yet not unmusical refrain. The music is more appealing to an American ear than that of the Arabs, but less so than that of the Shluh. The couplets include amorous rhapsodies, extemporaneous personal allusions to boys in the audience whose attention one of the dancers, especially the leader of a line, may wish to attract, and endless narrative dirges and exultations dealing with the war with the Christians. These war poems are beautiful compositions, and have now been sung so often that they have acquired a certain stability of form. They are sung in the dialect of the Galiya; often during the singing men who have participated in the battles referred to burst out weeping.

In some of the songs a dialogue is carried out between the two lines, one representing the Riffians and the other the Spaniards. As an example, one line says (in rough paraphrasing) "O soldiers, why did you come here? Why did you pitch your white tents beneath the crags of sweet-smelling wood?" To this the other, representing the Spaniards, replies, "To see the girls of Temsaman walking by, girded with belts of many colors, and their skirts swishing."

The leaders of the lines sometimes carry shallow open-based drums, the heads of which they pause to tighten by a fire burning in an angle of the court.

In a restricted part of the central area a different and more active type of dancing is found: all but two of the girls, none of whom are married, dance around in a circle, facing inward and singing. The style of their dancing is the same as that of the usual type. The two leaders, however, dance apart from the others. They wear short skirts, and hold in their hands, instead of drums, wooden clickers or castanets.[1]

These two dance side by side, moving their hips in opposite directions, and from time to time kicking their legs high in the air, clicking their castanets beneath their raised thighs and striking them on their buttocks. When the spirit of the dance has sufficiently aroused them they pick up and swing each other and leap to each other's shoulders and stand for a moment upon them. The atmosphere of this dance, heightened by the presence of the castanets, is quite Andalusian, but more acrobatic. It is to be seen among the mountain Urriaghlis, and in Beni Amart, Iherrushen, and Ikhuanen. Since the war the Taghsuthis have taken over this type of dancing, or rather the circle part of it, since the skill required for the parts of the two leaders is beyond them.

There are several kinds of music played at Riffian weddings. The first is that of the *zammar*, a double-reed pipe with vibrator and opposing stops.[2] The ends of the pipes are adorned with aoudad horns. The music produced on this instrument sounds very much like

[1] Bates (pp. 155–156) says that castanets were used by the ancient Libyans. One representation which he exhibits shows two curved pieces, presumably of wood, held in one hand; another shows two sticks, one held in each hand, and struck together. The Riffian women hold a pair in each hand.

[2] Bates (loc. cit.) states on the authority of Durius Samius that the ancient Libyans played on double-reed pipes.

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that of bagpipes. The *zammar* is played by the pipers from Temsaman and other places outside the heart of the Rif. They wander into that region during the month of September to play at weddings.[1]

Besides being musicians, the pipers act as professional wits, specializing in double meanings, usually of an obscene nature. Remarks which would cause a fight if uttered by anyone else are received with great applause when uttered by a piper.

The places whence these players come have already been listed.[2] The range of their professional practice includes Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Temsaman, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Beni Urriaghel, all Gzennaya excepting Shawia, Beni Amart, and Bokoya. Pipers inhabiting the territory of the Galiya play locally for weddings within their own families, as well as in the central Rif. Outside of our region, the Arabs of Msun, the Beni Znassen, the Brabra, and the Algerian Kabyles employ *zammar* players, and in the last two instances bagpipers as well, to play at their weddings. The North African bagpipe, which is not found in the Rif, resembles the *zammar* in the construction of the two pipes, which are fingered.

The second type of music is that of the *rheta*, a flaring-mouthed straight clarinet which produces an extremely loud, piercing note. This music is accompanied by the beating of large drums, closed at the bottom; sometimes double-headed drums are used.[3] The Jebala is the home of this method of entertainment. The musicians are students from cantonal mosques or *zawias*. This means of livelihood does not place them in a low social category, as it does the pipers. The profession is optional, not hereditary. Jeballi students who wander about playing this instrument at weddings take small boys along to sing in a piping falsetto and dance. On other occasions they use the reed flute instead of the *rheta*, which is reserved for ceremonial occasions. This is the practice in all Senhaja except Marnissa, all Ghomara, the maritime tribes, and Targuist.

The third type, centered among the Nomads, consists of flute music and singing. All the guests, both men and women, except for the dancers, sit together within the brush enclosure surrounding the encampment, or, in the case of sedentary peoples, in the courtyard. They sing in mixed chorus to the accompaniment of a single flute played by one of the company. The musician is not distinguished from the others except in his musical ability. Distribution is in Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Shawia, Marnissa.

The fourth type is found in the Galiya and Kebdana. Negroes belonging to the Naṣiri sect, who play flutes, beat on large drums, and click iron clappers, wander into these tribes and are employed as entertainers in weddings. The Beni Bu Yahyi employ them when they can obtain their services, which is not often.

Besides these professional types of music, and the singing of the dancers, the part of the older women must not be omitted. They cluster in a corner of the court or in a room, and indulge in the shrill, pulsating cry known as the *sigharit*, famous in antiquity.[4]

The men sit on the ground, leaning against the walls, laugh, shout, emit piercing cries, and fire off their rifles, holding the butts against the ground so that the muzzles are level with their ears. This action naturally has the effect of temporarily deafening some of the guests.

[1] The social position of this group has already been discussed. See pp. 92 *seq.*

[2] See pp. 93–94.

[3] Bates (*loc. cit.*) shows a drawing of a similar instrument, played in antiquity, and also a double-headed Libyan drum.

[4] Bates, pp. 153–154.

777 It is bad fal to eat or drink standing, to drink water from one hand
[264] only instead of drinking from both hands united (Andjra, Hiaina), and to drink with the mouth [34] in the water like an animal (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager); if you drink in the latter manner the water will go out through your anus.

[787] If a person walks with his hands joined together behind his back, his father or grandfather or some other relative of his will die (Ait Waryager).

777 The house will also be deserted by the angels (Tangier). It is
784 forbidden to whistle in a mosque or on a threshing-floor, and bad fal to do it on the road (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager). But it is the
533 custom for the shepherd to whistle; he thereby drives away evil influences from the animals (Hiaina, Ait Waryager). From a passage in the Koran it is understood that whistling was in the days of ignorance one of the idolatrous rites in the Meccan temple, and it is therefore generally held to be unlawful for pious Moslems.

787 [35] The twitches of muscles and itchings are interpreted as omens,
827 which are in most cases considered good or bad according as they occur on the right or the left side of the body. Twitching of your right eyelid indicates that some absent member of your family will come back or that some other pleasant event is in store for you, but a twitch of your left eye means that a member of your family will die or that you will have some other sorrow (Hiaina, Tangier, Aglu, Igliwa, Ait Waryager).

According to a scribe from the Ait Waryager, itching of the right palm, the right side of the face, or the right eyebrow indicates happiness, but itching of the left palm, the left side of the face, or the left eyebrow indicates sorrow.

[36] If the sole of one of your feet (Hiaina, Igliwa, Ait Waryager) or of your right foot (Dukkala, Shawia, Aglu) itches you will travel.

Some people also believe that you will travel if you feel itching between the toes (Ait Waryager).

777 [40] There are magical influences of many kinds in the various days of the week. I have previously spoken of beliefs relating to Friday, the holy day of the Muhammadan world, as also of the abstinence from work on Sundays observed by the women in some Berber tribes. Sunday is generally considered the most favourable day for the beginning of the autumn ploughing, and in some places even

000 [114] 109--In the Rif, to our knowledge, there was never a special "market chief", although this office existed in certain parts of the Central Atlas.

[565] 110--The market crier, like the blacksmith and members of certain other occupational groups, occupied a very low rung on the Rifian social ladder, and can in no way be considered as a "tribal functionary".

[533] [534] 111--The imdhiyazen, or professional singers of couplets at weddings and players of the zammar (an instrument with two mouthpieces and two flaring ends, each of which is adorned with a cow's horn), the flute and the tambourine, who invariably come from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, own no property in their own rights, and double as mule and donkey breeders.

[113] 112--For a detailed account of the dance of the ibarudiyen of the Aith Waryaghar, see Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas, Africa, nos. 55, 46-7, 59-60, Madrid 1946, pp. 315-16, 414-19, and 547-51., as well as our own article, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", op. cit., 1958, pp. 232-37. This dance was stopped [648] by order of 'Abd al-krim during the Rifian War in order to save cartridges, and was afterwards forcibly discontinued because of the post-protectoral prohibition of firearms in the Rif. Our account is only a translation of Blanco's, with comments.

(113--Diagram.)

[114] 114--The social structure of the Aith Waryaghar is indeed complex, and this admission by Blanco is a strange contrast to his earlier diagnosis of it as "rudimentary". Although in all essentials it is exactly the same as that of the other Rifian tribes, it is more intricate because of certain variations between the lineage structure and the territorial system. These variations are expressed in terms of spatial discontinuity between certain subsegments bearing the same names, as hinted at in Section F above; and it is this same discontinuity, virtually non-existent among the other Rifian tribes (and where it does exist, only in embryonic form at the level of the minor and minimal lineages), which is, in fact, one of the central arguments advanced by Blanco in the present section. Our own opinion is that it is intimately linked with the notion of lineage scission.

Among certain transhumants in the Eastern Atlas, notably the Ait 'Atta and Ait Saghrushshan (there are no doubt other well-authenticated examples as well), this kind of discontinuity assumes classic proportions, for it is elevated to the tribal level as well. The fact that it exists among the Rifians of the Aith Waryaghar, however, leads me to believe that it is not primarily connected with the economic organization under consideration (sedentarism or transhumance), but rather with gradual shifts, over time, of tribal clans.

115--The discontinuity alluded to in note 114 had long been an established fact when 'Abd al-Krim rose to power, and there was no reason for him to attempt to change it through, presumably, any regroupment of jma'ths. Such a change would in any event have been highly artificial, and it seems logical to assume that he was fully aware of this.

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[533] by five or ten minutes. As they travel through the hills, each group sings praise songs of themselves and occasionally derogative songs about the other group. As they sing quite loudly, they can generally hear one another's songs even if they can not always see each other. The bride's group is the larger, numbering about twenty girls, all unmarried, while the male group consists rarely of more than ten and may include married male friends. The groom himself is addressed as Moulay or Sultan during this procession and the men with him are his iwziren or advisors. This is a borrowing of terms which are traditionally used to designate positions in the Moroccan government.

As they come to each house, the girls enter into the inside patio where they sing and dance, while the men enter a separate but connected guest room where they are offered tea and a meal. It is customary for the family head of each
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431 visited house to present the groom with a sum of money and a gift of clothing or new shoes. The amount given is related to the prominence and wealth of the household, to the degree of relatedness between the groom and the giver, and to previous reciprocal gifts bestowed by members of the groom's family on the host. These gifts, grama, are interpreted by Westermarck as ". . . really a loan which has to be repaid in the future under corresponding circumstances, or an indemnity for similar contributions in the past; hence the amounts given by the various donors are most carefully taken note of" (1914:125).

585 On the day before the bride goes from her home to the home of the groom's father, and after the procession collecting the grass has occurred, celebrations are held in the homes of both [574] the bride and the groom. Patri- and matrilineal kinsmen as well as friends are invited to each house. If the marriage is between related persons, the kinsmen go to the house of the person with whom they have the closest connection either in terms of nearness [582] of kinship, friendship, or both. Since marriage for the majority of the fellah occur in a close community and often with relatives, the parties are often held in adjoining houses or at least in quite nearby places. In such cases the guests often move from one party to another. The ceremony which takes place at the bride's house is also financed by the groom's family, who send over the necessary animals, bread, oil, and so forth. At the bride's house her girlhood friends dance and sing in the patio [302] for the entertainment of the ensemble. The bride's hands are [431] painted with henna during a ceremony in which each of her girl friends and older female relatives gives her a small gift (grama).

585 At the groom's house a similar ceremony takes place. If 533 the father is wealthy, or even if poor but with sufficient social 463 credit, he will hire professional musicians who play, sing and [464] dance at the home of the groom on this night and the following [465] one. These musicians, who receive $20 to $40 for the celebration, also take up contributions from the assembled guests. There is [619] a tribal fraction in the Beni Tuzin who, for obscure reasons, have taken up this occupation as their professional speciality.

585 The primary social obligation for the guests occurs on the night of the wedding ceremony. On this evening the bride [593] [602] is brought by her elder brother or a close male relative (but not her father or uncles) to the home of the groom. Transpor- [492] [754] tation is usually by mule with the bride leading the procession, atop a mule and wrapped from head to toe in cloth to avoid the [494] evil eye. In the more accessible areas and among the wealthier [492] families, the bride is brought by truck or taxi to within a few [178] hundred yards of the groom's home where she mounts a mule and follows the rest of the customary procedure. Her parents are left behind at their home and do not see her for another seven days. The bride, dangling precariously from her mount and followed by her entourage, is met some fifty yards in front of the groom's house by his party. This moment signals a renewal of festivities by songs and dances by both a group of girls who accompany the bride and a group of girls associated with the groom's family. Entered into this melee are also the profes- [533] sional musicians, making the entrance into the groom's home quite spectacular. The bride when she arrives at the house is handed a bag of barley which she ceremonially tosses to the right, left, and directly behind her, symbolically representing the hope of fertility from her concourse with her new husband. She then enters the house and remains isolated with the women until the next day.

585 The social obligations of the guests occur at this time, 594 when they are expected to give gifts of cash to whoever sponsored 591 431

585 524 571 431 the groom's wedding and to the groom himself. This is the high point of the celebration and a public demonstration of the web of social debts that have been accumulated over the past or projected into the future.

The gift giving takes place during a ceremony which is supposed to emulate a royal court paying tribute to the king. The groom, addressed as Moulay, or Sultan, enters into a circle of guests who are sitting outside the house on mats or under arbours. He is accompanied by the same set of men who had gone around with him on the previous week collecting grana. This is a group of six or seven close male friends and relatives called his iwziren, from the Arabic wazir (viziers), or ministers. It is rather odd that the terminological forms of central government (sultan and viziers) should exist in the traditional wedding ceremony in an area where the central government exercised little or no authority. That it existed prior to the introduction of central authority is, however, quite certain since both Coon (1931:134-135) and Renisio (1932:146-150) report it.

[154] The groom, wearing a new jeballa, the hood of which covers his face to ward off evil eyes, enters the circle accompanied by his iwziren. As this procession enters into the circle of male guests they sing in Arabic, [538] [539]

sabhain er-razik
sabhain el-khalaik
sabhain er-ruwak
El ardh el-khalaik

Praise be to the Provider
Praise be to the Creator
Praise be to the Permanent
The Creation has begun.

751 435 vary greatly, from less than a dirham to several hundred dirhams. Although it is impossible to estimate how much money goes for investments of this sort, the qualitative importance of investments to prevent misfortune from the evil eye is great.

796 241 789 821 One other rite ought to be mentioned of imitative magic directly related to production. Since crops are dry farmed, the success of any one year depends on the amount of rain received in that year. Unfortunately, the Rif is not blessed with a stable rainfall. When there is drought or even the fear of impending drought, each community in the Central Rif has a Bride-of-the-Rain ceremony (thasrith anzar). For such a ceremony a ladle normally used to put bread into the household ovens is dressed in the costume of a bride. The young female virgins [533] [539] carry this 'bride' from house to house within their community, singing the refrain,

a-reeth-nis-la
arabe ya-sidi
atawsh- n-shala

Give us Oh God
Give us water quickly
Make water quickly.

They stop at each household to receive coins and prepared food. [782] At the same time, all the men go to the communal mosque or a nearby saint's tomb where they sacrifice a bull purchased with contributions for everyone in the community. After the ceremony the meat is distributed among the participants. Although this example is related to both consumption and production, it would